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8 September 1978

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1584

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EUROPE

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

MOSCOW 'PRAVDA' COMMENTATOR ZHUKOV ON 1968 CIERNA NAD TISOU MEETING

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Aug 78 p. 6 AU

["Substantial part" of interview given by Yuriy Zhukov, Moscow PRAVDA political commentator, to NOVOSTI: "The Myths and the Reality; Y. Zhukov, the PRAVDA Political Commentator, on the CSSR of 10 Years Ago"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /NOVOSTI has recorded an interview with Yuriy Zhukov, outstanding Soviet publicist, public figure and PRAVDA political commentator, who recalls the events in Czechoslovakia 10 years ago as well as what preceded them. We herewith publish a substantial part of this interview./

The recent visit of the Soviet party and government delegation headed by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev to fraternal Czechoslovakia was a great political event and has evoked considerable international reaction. At the conclusion of the visit to Prague a joint declaration was adopted which again confirmed the two parties' and countries' firm resolve to continue developing and consolidating our combat friendship.

This is particularly significant today, when the communications media of the capitalist world are again trying--in connection with the approaching 10th anniversary of the attempt to stage a counterrevolutionary coup d'etat in Czechoslovakia--to sow the poisonous seeds of doubt about the sincerity of our relations of good neighborliness in order to undermine the friendship of the peoples of the USSR and the CSSR and to effect a split in the unity of the countries of the socialist community. Bourgeois propaganda is exploiting the fact that during the last 10 years a new generation of people has grown up in Czechoslovakia, people who know about the events of 1968 primarily from what their parents have told them. This propaganda is doing its utmost to interpret the events as though on that memorable 21 August the troops of the five socialist countries of the Warsaw Pact forcibly invaded CSSR territory, thus disrupting the "revival" process and the society's "liberalization and democratization" and preventing the building of so-called socialism with a human face.

The Course Events Took

But let us be objective: The reality of those days, as well as the later analysis of the events that was elaborated in a precise and principled manner in the CPCZ Central Committee's document "Learn From the Crisis-Ridden Development," conclusively testify that in the years 1968-69 one of the sharpest class battles of our times broke out in the CSSR between real socialism and the combined forces of domestic and international reaction, which diligently strove to effect a breach in the monolithic unity of socialist countries.

As the crisis in the country and the party progressively deepened, it became increasingly obvious that /this was the result of a well-thought-out plan of the capitalist great powers/--by way of gross interference in the CSSR's domestic affairs and with the aid of its communications media, particularly radio propaganda, and through the subversive actions of thousands of so-called tourists and by various other ways, including direct armed aggression --/to tear Czechoslovakia away from the socialist community and to thrust it onto the road of transition into the camp of capitalism./

It must be said that in many respects the activity of rightwing opportunist elements that had penetrated into the CPCZ and its management bodies at that time played into the hands of international imperialism in carrying out its plans.

In the period between January and August 1968 a whole number of multi-lateral talks were held in Dresden, Moscow, Budapest, Cierna nad Tisou and Bratislava, as were bilateral meetings in Prague. Understandably, the fraternal parties were not indifferent to the fate of socialism in Czechoslovakia, a full member of the Warsaw Pact, whose task is the collective protection of the achievements of socialism. That is why everything possible was undertaken, without limiting the CSSR's interests, so that the CPCZ's leading representatives of that time would convince themselves through concrete examples of the dangerous nature of the path on which they had embarked.

I would like to dwell on one of these meetings, the one in Cierna nad Tisou, where the CPSU representatives urgently appealed to the Czechoslovak side to rectify the dangerous situation in the country by its own forces. Together with two other comrades I was one of the group of Soviet journalists reporting on this meeting. The following fact testifies to the atmosphere in which our delegation had to work: Although the negotiations were formally closed ones, in some way their contents regularly leaked out to the bourgeois press, and naturally they leaked in a distorted form. Czechoslovak television, managed at that time by Jiri Pelikan, traitor to the national interests, vied in carrying slanderous commentaries of the Cierna meeting.

During the talks in Cierna it was decided to organize a meeting of six fraternal parties in Bratislava so as to assess the problems in greater and more comprehensive detail. A joint declaration was signed in Slovakia's capital on 3 August stating that "the support, consolidation and defense of these (socialist--Y.Zh.) achievements, acquired at the price of the heroic efforts and devoted work of each nation, is the common international duty of all socialist countries...." We again felt--with particular sharpness--the complexity and contradictory nature of the situation in the CSSR when we were leaving Bratislava by air. While waiting for the airplane we heard the text of the declaration from a loudspeaker. It was naturally gratifying and significant that it was being broadcast to the whole country, regardless of the late hour. But literally instantaneously after this the statement of the CSSR journalists union was read on the radio: the union was in the hands of reactionaries and played an important role in the tense situation. With feigned indignation and concern the statement said that, allegedly, the declaration did not reflect the aspirations of the Czechoslovak people, that it had been adopted under pressure, and so forth. The situation was increasingly deteriorating. And at that time the only correct way out of this that was found was to grant the fraternal Czechoslovak people assistance, without delay and including assistance with armed forces.

What They Wanted To Achieve

In a later part of the interview Y. Zhukov spoke about the backstage events surrounding the so-called Czechoslovak experiment. He also recalled what Z. Brzezinski had said in his statement on 15 July 1968 in Prague: "What we see from New York we welcome; and we believe that it is gratifying particularly because it is essentially a matter of reviving old values in a new form." And later: "...We proceed from the precept that the recent events in Eastern Europe (meaning the CSSR--Y.Zh.) are the result of the ascendancy of those political forces that have already existed here..."

It is not hard to grasp, Y. Zhukov continued, what international capital was welcoming at that time in Czechoslovakia through Brzezinski's mouth. Once there really had been "political forces" here, forces which brought the country to the shameful tragedy of Munich in 1938. And, following the example set by the USSR and other socialist countries, the Czechoslovak people put an end to the "old values," that is, to capitalism, in February 1948. But to this very day the imperialist circles have not parted with the idea of having Europe as it was up to World War II.

When the imperialist circles failed to achieve success through the gross forms of direct subversion, and when the counterrevolutionary act in Hungary had suffered a crushing defeat in 1956, these circles changed the tactics of their offensive against communism. The theory of the so-called quiet saddle against the socialist countries was introduced into their armory. One of the authors of this theory was Prof Herman Kahn, well-known advocate of big capital. This furious defender of the unleashing of a

thermonuclear world war, who devoted quite a few of his "scientific" works to working out the concepts of this war at the beginning of the 1960's, suddenly declared himself an advocate of the "consolidation of peace" in the second half of that decade; he began to support the theory of "convergence," that is, the theory of a gradual rapprochement of the two social systems, as well as the method of "building bridges," for which Washington had great hopes at that time./The essence of the doctrine brought out by Mr Kahn and his fellow culprits could in each case be reduced to the following: Gradually, through methods of escalation, to conduct subversive activities against the socialist countries with the aim of evoking "ideological erosion," the "moldering away," as they called it, of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine./In other words, to achieve the ideological disintegration of the state from within, thus causing a political and economic crisis and artificially provoking the dissatisfaction of the broad people's masses. This, however, was not the end of it all./On a long-term basis, a military blow was also planned,/ as Kahn frankly conceded in his article published by the American periodical FORTUNE in the autumn of 1968.

In brief, the plan was complete. The only thing left was to find a suitable firing ground for the experiment. And it was actually found--in the CSSR. /The surprising thing in this monstrous decision was, above all, the unconcealed cynicism with which the capitalist world had decided--twice in the course of a mere 30 years--to experiment with a whole state, with all its people, with whole nations having centuries-old traditions./

How was the development of the "decisive experiment" (as Professor Kahn called the events in the CSSR) planned? Kahn himself provided an absolutely frank answer to this question on the pages of the American businessmen's periodical. With the frankness typical of him we expounded the plan of the ascendance of antisocialist forces in Czechoslovakia, a plan outlined in the minds of "the majority of Western experts," according to Kahn, as follows--and I quote verbatim:

"A--In the immediate future the recognition of Bonn, which was to be followed by West German loans, business and influence.

"B--Provisions for strong Western influences, primarily French and German ones, in the sphere of culture.

"C--The Renunciation of 'democratic centralism' (and I find this very significant--Y.Zh.).

"D--In the immediate future, setting up a government standing above the party; a general weakening of the party's influence.

"E--The emergence of opposition parties and the creation of an active political opposition.

"F--The emergence of a saintly halo of 'economic miracle.'

"G--The possible establishment of...a social democracy with capitalist nuances."

The picture is thus clear. /What was planned was a "quiet" counterrevolution, the replacement of the socialist system with the capitalist one, for the sake of good manners concealed behind the facade of "socialism with a human face." But in reality it was international imperialism that was baring its teeth behind this mask. It was to have been introduced into Czechoslovakia by the antisocialist forces operating inside the country and relying on active assistance from the outside.

But even this is far from all. Another part of the plan was to overthrow the party and government leadership in the Polish People's Republic and replace it with (and again I quote Kahn):

"A--Any kind of independent, supranational and relatively anti-Soviet but communist (?) group;

"B--Any kind of reformist regime, which could also be independent, supranational and anti-Soviet."

Moreover, a further escalation of subversive activities against the other socialist countries was planned, and above all against the GDR. This, as H. Kahn specified, could "take a rather stormy and dangerous course" and "perhaps" would be connected with "an attempt at unifying Eastern and Western Germany" (What is meant is to annex the GDR to the FRG--Y.Zh.).

And finally, /as the last and logical culmination of this plan, Mr Kahn stressed that "the weakening of the Warsaw Pact, together with the strengthening of Western Germany,... could one bright day culminate in Western Germany attacking the Soviet Union with U.S. support." As you can see, everything could have returned into the old grooves./ "The Czechoslovak action" was merely the first step toward unleashing a new world war./

When the USSR, together with other socialist countries, came to the assistance of the fraternal Czechoslovak people and the imperialists' plans were wrecked, H.Kahn began--as they say in America--to "agonizingly reappraise" what had been done and to draw lessons for the future. Among other things, he declared: "A number of American experts on the USSR, including myself, have up to now underestimated the ability of the leaderships (of socialist countries--Y.Zh.) to resolutely act in defense of their interests; We have been guilty of incredibly underestimating the Russians' strong nerves and determination."

Well, as the saying goes, what is true is true. /We do have strong nerves, and the peoples of the socialist countries need not borrow determination to

ALBANIA

GENERAL STAFF CHIEF SPEAKS AT ARMED FORCES MEETING

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 10 Jul 78 pp 1, 2, 3

[Speech by Veli Llakaj, member of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party, chief of the General Staff of the People's Army, deputy minister of People's Defense]

[Text] Dear Comrades:

Today our armed forces and our people joyfully celebrated one of the most remarkable events of the Antifascist National Liberation war, the 35th anniversary of the formation of the General Staff, July 10, a day that has gone down in the history of the new Albania as the day on which our People's Army was created.

This brilliant jubilee finds our people, the working class, the farmers of the cooperatives, the people's intelligentsia, the women and our youth in a drive of revolutionary mobilization to put into effect the historic decisions of the Seventh Party Congress, the duties which were recently laid down at the Plenums of the Party's Central Committee,

Our army celebrates this day with a steel-like unity around the party, prepared politically and militarily, vigilant and ready to accomplish, under any circumstances, its holy mission: the protection of the fatherland and the victories that our people have won.

Today our nation is free and independent, an advanced socialist nation, that goes forward on the road that was opened by the people's revolution. Albania, under the leadership of the party, has been transformed into a nation with advanced industry and agriculture, with a broad educational program and a new popular culture, with a standard of living that grows constantly.

Albania enjoys great prestige and respect in the world, she has many friends and well-wishers in all the countries of the world. The defense of our country is strong and invincible.

The happy days that we are enjoying were won by the best sons and daughters of Albania, they fought with arms in hand and spilled their blood. They will always remain for the army and the whole nation a shining example of daring and bravery, of ardent patriotism and of devoted service toward the party and the people. Our new generation is educated and inspired by the heroism of the partisans, by the present and past struggles of our people for their just cause, freedom and independence and the great socialist victory in Albania.

Allow me, in the name of the Central Committee of the Party and in the name of the beloved leader of the party and the people, the Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces, Comrade Enver Hoxha, to greet our People's Army, the effectives of all our defense organization and all our nation and wish them, during this great celebration, further successes in the noble work of the construction of socialism and in strengthening the defense capability of the fatherland in order to make our People's Socialist Republic even stronger.

Our People's Army was born and bred in the fire of the National Liberation War, in the titanic efforts that our people made against the nazi and fascist invaders and the traitors in our country. The army was created during an important and critical period: while Albania was suffering under fascist yoke and the rest of the world was engulfed in the flames of World War II, when the Albanian People were faced with the problem of their future and the problem of their very existence; when the dark reactionary forces of the nation and their traitorous organizations, such as Balli Kombetar, Legaliteti and others, were working with all their might to bind the nation to fascism, to perpetuate the enslavement and submission of our fatherland, to make our people cannon fodder for the fulfillment of the goals of the fascist powers and turn our country into a parade ground for aggression and expansion against other countries.

The patriotic and freedom loving Albanian people who for centuries had fought, without counting the cost, against foreign invaders and reactionary cliques could not keep still and submit to fascist domination. They chose as always, even in this situation, the path of honor and glory, the path of struggle and open war against the fascist enemies and the traitors at home. Our people, although betrayed, received the fascist invaders with fire and a bullet in the forehead and proved by this that they would not accept to submit and be enslaved, that they would fight to the end, without considering the sacrifices, for the freedom of the fatherland. In those gloomy and decisive days the Albanian Communist Party was born in the breast of the Albanian working classes and the working masses; in addition the general staff that would organize, mobilize and lead the war of liberation for our people was formed. From its inception the party issued the call for armed revolution as the only way to save the life and honor of the Albanian People and insure victory. The party told the masses that the path it was inviting them to take was full of sacrifice, suffering and privations, but it was the only way to salvation, to expel the enemy, to defeat the traitors at home and to bring Albania into the sunlight. The call

of the party, which was the voice of the national conscience of the Albanian People, was answered immediately by the masses in the cities and the villages, by the young men and women of Albania, who filled the squares with demonstrations, formed the guerilla units, swelled the ranks of the partisan bands and fought against the enemy in every part of the country. In this war the Albanian communists stood in the forefront of the popular resistance, they stood where the duties and the dangers were the greatest. The heroism and the determination of communists like Qemal Stafa, Koci Bako, Vojo Kushi, Perlant Rexhepi, Misto Mame and hundreds of others became torches to light a stronger and more merciless war against the enemy, to prepare and to start the widespread armed revolution of the people.

Our new Marxist-Leninist party drafted a clear military program, perfected a correct strategy and tactics based on Marxist-Leninist teachings and implemented them without faltering and without making any concessions to the invaders, the traitors and the foreign imperialists. It was this correct party line, the determination to fight, the revolutionary heroism and daring of the party and its work with the masses, that were important factors that lit, in every corner of the country, the fire of the great Antifascist National Liberation War of the Albanian People.

With the expansion of the resistance and the armed war, the necessity arose for the formation of larger military units, for an army that had a more powerful and more concentrated striking force capable of operating in all the open spaces of our country. To lead the army it would be necessary to form a single body of command and direction--the General Staff of the National Liberation Army, which was created 10 July 1943. There was in our country at this time an effective strength of 22 battalions and a large number of guerilla bands, in whose ranks were incorporated 10,000 partisans. There were also the territorial voluntary guerilla bands from the free and occupied zones with over 20,000 fighters. The formation of the General Staff was a great event for the Antifascist National Liberation War, because it played a very important part in its development. It marked a new and more superior phase in the organization of the army, making it stronger and bigger. After 10 July, military activity had a new drive, larger and broader in dimension.

The party and the General Council of the National Liberation Front charged the General Staff with the duty to raise the organization of the army to a higher level, to enlarge it and reinforce it with new units, to coordinate the activities of the different partisan groups and expand the sphere of their military activity to include all the areas of the country, to study the enemy's military situation, their targets and operations, to draft effective plans for the operation of the war, to insure cooperation between the army and the local community forces and so on.

Immediately after the creation of the General Staff new brigades were formed, and later they were followed by the formation of divisions and army corps, which changed the National Liberation Army into an organized partisan army,

able to undertake significant military operations and capable of inflicting serious setbacks on the enemy everywhere. This was a new army, one that had never been seen in the history of Albania before, an army born of the people for the people, a voluntary army conscientious and disciplined, an army that was fighting for the high ideals of national and social liberation.

The military experience of our people was formed and enriched in the fire of battle and in encounters with invaders and traitors, the cadres of the National Liberation Army were ready and prepared. The people and the enemy depots were the principal sources which kept the army supplied with food and clothing. The National Liberation Army and the people stole their weapons and munitions from the enemy.

Under the direction of the General Staff, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, the National Liberation Army withstood two important enemy assaults, one in the winter of 1944, and the other in June of the same year, which tested the army's strength, resistance and military ability. The defeat of these operations robbed the enemy of the initiative and gave it to the National Liberation Army, who kept it until the liberation of Albania. These victories, among many others, proved that the party had created, educated and formed an invincible army. An army that was capable of engaging large enemy forces which were armed to the teeth and still come out victorious. The Albanian people had their own armed forces that would assure the freedom of the country and protect the victories of the revolution.

In October 1944, when the army had reached the highest level of organization and mobilization it numbered 70,000 partisans in its ranks, among them thousands of military and political cadres, hardened in the harsh battles against the enemy. The army confronted 100,000 Italian soldiers and over 70,000 German soldiers and put 50,000 of them out of combat. Our National Liberation Army completed its allotted duties with honor and glory, because it was led with intelligence and foresight by the party, which was the soul and heart of the nation in revolt and of every military formation, because it relied strongly on the people and successfully implemented the principles of the Marxist-Leninist military art in the people's revolutionary war.

The National Liberation War was at its noblest during the legendary engagement of the Albanian People with the fascist enemy and the traitors at home. Its unsurpassed heroism will always stand out brilliantly and will remain forever a source of inspiration for the present generation and for the generations to come.

Our people and our army gave, for the liberation of the fatherland, 20,000 martyrs in the war against the invaders and the traitors. We shall always honor with great respect the fighters, the commanders, the commissars and brave, able, talented fighters like Abas Shehu, Xheladin Beqiri (from Karadaku), Reshit Collaku, Asim Zeneli, Gjok Doci, Mustafa Matohiti, Lefter

Talo, Hibe Palikuqi, Skender Caci, Fuat Babani, Shejnaze Juka, Kajo Karafili, Myslym Shyri, Dervish Hekali, Mustafa Kacaci, Zaho Koka, Zonja Curre, Tom Kola, Ajeta Xhindoli, Adem Krasniqi (from Kosova), Ramiz Aranitasi, Met Hasa and many many more.

The spirit of sacrifice and heroism, the steel-like will and determination to face innumerable difficulties, to fight and vanquish the many enemies, well equipped with modern weapons, was found by our National Liberation Army in the high ideal to free the nation and bring it happy days. As Comrade Hoxha has said, we were a small nation facing a great beast, but we were strong, because our hearts were filled with hatred for those who had destroyed our homes and robbed us of our wealth. We seized our weapons and threw ourselves into the battle, we were sure of victory, because justice was on our side and we were not alone in this war. Educated by the party and by Comrade Enver Hoxha with the spirit of proletarian internationalism, our army helped the national liberation wars of Yugoslavia, Kosova and Montenegro to free themselves from the German Nazis.

Our National Liberation Army was created and organized by the party. The party was the soul of the army, the guiding and leading force, its teacher and tutor. It was the party that strengthened the army with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, made it conscious of its important mission and thus brightened the prospects of victory.

The military path taken by the National Liberation Army was proof of the correctness of the great Marxist-Leninist lesson, that every revolution must create its own fighting army in order to face the enemy and come out victorious. It proves that the party knew how to implement this theory faithfully and consistently within the concrete conditions existing in our country.

Our Antifascist National Liberation War and our people's revolution proved the other important Marxist-Leninist theory, that revolution cannot succeed without revolutionary force. The submissive theories of the modern revisionists on the peaceful and parliamentary path to revolution, seek to sabotage the people's revolution and to protect the capitalist system.

With the liberation of Albania, the party and the people's government were faced with the important problem, that parallel with the construction of the new life, the newly won freedom and independence be strengthened and protected and the peaceful work of the people be assured against the counter-revolutionary efforts of enemies within the country and without. In those days, instigated and encouraged from abroad, numerous bands of saboteurs and criminals were active in our country, armed provocations took place on our borders. Open threats and pressures were exercised by the imperialist powers and attempts were made to overturn by force the people's government that had been established in Albania. Therefore, the party gave special attention to preserve and strengthen the army, took numerous measures to change the National Liberation Army into a regular army, to

modernize it, arm it and organize it at all levels, to make it completely able and ready to face new duties and problems.

The creation of party committees, the reinstallment of political commissars, the removal of grades and other revolutionary measures taken by the party, strengthened even more the guiding role and the ideological and political work of the party with the army, they raised and further strengthened military preparedness and the role of military staffs and commands, they improved the collegiate direction and work, they strengthened centralization and democracy, the cadres-masses relationships and the ties of the people with the army. These measures played an important part in making our People's Army always remain a faithful force for the party and for the dictatorship of the proletariat and to end the possibility of its degeneration into a bourgeois revisionist army, as happened in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries. Even in the future our party, by implementing its Marxist-Leninist military line, will work for the continuous revolutionizing of our People's Army. As Comrade Enver Hoxha says: "We must have a strong army closely tied to the working people, an army guided by the party, an army that is politically and ideologically educated with the Marxist-Leninist spirit, especially well versed in the Marxist-Leninist military science, an army well supplied with modern arms, always ready to defend our socialist fatherland from all foreign and internal threats, ready to protect the victories of our working people and the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Our People's Army has been, is and will always remain a revolutionary army of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In contradiction with the bourgeoisie and the modern revisionists who try to conceal the political and class character of their armies. Our party openly declares that the army of the Albanian People's Socialist Republic is an army of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is the army of all the nation and is led by the Marxist-Leninist party, educated and molded by the proletariat ideology and trained according to the military art of the people's war. Her cadres and her soldiers are sons of the working nation, of the freed workers and farmers, who have common interests and struggle for the same goals, the construction of the socialist society and the protection of the socialist fatherland.

The Marxist-Leninist leadership of the armed forces of the truly socialist nation is formed by the universal law of the absolute necessity to protect and strengthen the class conscious revolutionary character of the army. The Albanian Workers Party has remained faithful to this principle, it has implemented it consistently in all its activity and has carried on an uncompromising war against different enemies and against all misguided practices and views in this field.

From its own experience and from the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the bitter events which take place in the revisionist countries where the armies of these countries were used by traitorous opportunistic cliques to achieve counterrevolutions, our party had learned valuable lessons in every field

and the need for the continuous revolutionizing of the people's army. The most important lesson to be drawn from these events is, that weakening the guiding role of the party over the armed forces creates the danger of their degeneration from a force that is in the service of the revolution to a force that serves the bourgeois-revisionist counterrevolution.

The Marxist-Leninist party makes the army class conscious and educates it with a Marxist-Leninist understanding of the world. The study and assimilation of Marxism-Leninism and of the lessons of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha are a necessary condition if the army is to remain always the army of the working class, the army of the socialist revolution. For this reason, the party continues to stress that in the army a broader, continuous, systematic, political, ideological and educational work with the soldiers and the officers must be carried out as part of the whole basic educational program of the army, because in the end people are the decisive factor in the struggle for the protection of the fatherland. At the same time, the party stresses the importance of strengthening military preparedness, of not underestimating the role of weapons and military technics, which when assimilated and in the hands of conscientious people make our army and defense invincible. The revisionists use the slogan "the party must guide the army." But this is a demagoguery to relax and deceive the masses. All their efforts are concentrated in making the army the tool of the cliques in power, so that it will command the party, crush the people, protect the privileges of the bourgeoisie and implement the bourgeois-revisionist policy.

Our People's Army was formed and modernized according to Marxist-Leninist teachings, in response to the goals and duties of the proletariat dictatorship, to the socialist economic and social order and to the actual existing conditions in which our country is surrounded by capitalist and revisionist nations. Our workers party clearly defined the character, role and mission of the nation's army, the army of the proletarian dictatorship. In this field it has come into contact with different bourgeois revisionist views on the army, it has struggled with determination against anti-Marxist theories and against the pressures to build, educate and train our army according to foreign prototypes. The party has always remained vigilant and has consistently developed the class struggle against all the enemies who have tried to interfere with her military line.

The party uncovered and destroyed Koci Xoxe's band, who tried in every possible way to disarm the people who had fought the Antifascist National Liberation War and place our army under the command of the Yugoslav revisionists. Koci Xoxe wanted to dissolve the role of the party in the army and replace it with state security organs.

The party fought against the views and actions of plotters like Beqir Balluku, Petrit Duma and Hito Cako, who consciously and with determined hostile goals tried to weaken the army and create counterrevolutionary subversion in our country. With this purpose in mind they tried to sabotage the implementation of the party's revolutionary measures in the army, they tried to prevent the

party from the leadership of the army, to replace our revolutionary military art by a revisionist one and to generally undermine the defense of the fatherland. These enemies were not only inspired by the revisionist ideology, but they had relations with revisionist countries in whose service they were working.

The party, with Comrade Enver at the head, the people and the army punished and destroyed these traitors and saved the fatherland and socialism from a great danger. The destruction of the Beqir Balluku, Petrit Duma and Hito Cako band, and the sweep of their hostile activities in the army with a clean revolutionary broom, further revolutionized the army and all the structures of defense, strengthened the guiding role of the party and the Marxist-Leninist education and training of all the nation.

The party has struggled and is still struggling to protect and strengthen in our army the popular spirit and traditions of the partisan army, the close ties between the cadres and the army and the ties of the army with the people.

In our army the typical characteristic is not imposed discipline, but conscientious discipline which is derived from the lofty and noble understanding the soldiers, officers and all members of our armed forces have of their duty and mission. There is not an army in the world which has the same liberal democratic standards which exists in our People's Army, where the influence of the soldiers extends over the training programs, the economic activity, the cadres and the headquarter staffs and commands. The soldiers of our People's Army have their own unshakeable dignity and personality, they speak and are heard on all problems. Our democracy does not adversely affect the discipline, the solidarity and the strength of the army.

Our People's Army is distinguished for its high moral characteristics and for its healthy communist education. It protects and develops the best military and patriotic traditions of the people and the partisan army which gave it strength, vitality, bravery and daring. Among the soldiers and the officers our party cultivates and encourages love for the people and for the freedom of the fatherland, endless devotion to the affairs of the party and communism and great loathing for enemies and traitors.

The party sees the army as an immense educational school through whose ranks pass all our new generations. Not only does it prepare our youth militarily and develops them physically, but it also molds them politically and ideologically, it develops in them a feeling for order, discipline and work.

The party has stressed that the protection of the fatherland is a duty above all duties, an important responsibility for all the nation, because the fatherland cannot be protected only by the regular army, but must be protected by all our people. In the Albanian People's Socialist Republic, all the nation is the army. Soldiers, officers and members of all effective units are only a small segment of our greater People's Army. Our people

are good and true sentries, organized, armed and trained militarily, vigilant and ready to protect the fatherland at any moment. This important victory has been achieved by our people under the leadership of the heroic workers party. In our country, for the first time in its history, what Lenin said has been implemented, "all soldiers should be citizens and all citizens soldiers, capable of using arms."

The old regular army confined to the barracks and separated from the people is characteristic of the bourgeois revisionist countries. The bourgeoisie is careful to isolate the army from the people, to keep it as far as possible from the worries and the problems of the masses. It tries in all ways to manipulate it ideologically, psychologically and prepare it militarily to become a tool in its own subservience.

Our party bases the protection of the fatherland, freedom and independence on the Marxist-Leninist principle of relying on your own forces. This principle is a universal law and not a temporary policy that is derived from this or that conjecture. The fact that our people are building socialism and defending their fatherland under conditions of the harsh imperialist-revisionist encirclement, makes the implementation of this principle a necessity for survival. This correct line has been deeply rooted by the party in the consciousness of every person. Therefore, young and old, the military and the worker, thinks of and works for the protection of the fatherland, by holding a gun in one hand and a pick in the other. Our people, by relying on their own force have achieved brilliant results on all levels. Our experience denounces the bourgeois revisionist concept that a small country and a small nation cannot be free and independent, cannot build socialism without economic, political and military support from a big nation. This shows that the protection of the fatherland can be assured without being under the umbrella of the big powers and without taking part in military pacts and alliances with the imperialist-revisionist nations. Our people liberated their country without accepting troops from the anti-fascist coalition on their territory. Life has shown that the super powers and all revisionists and imperialists have never been interested in fighting, and have never fought to defend the freedom and independence of other nations and peoples, but they have always tried to dominate them and turn them into merchandise for barter.

The problem of protecting the freedom and the national sovereignty of the fatherland, the problem of safeguarding the independent freedom of action of the state, in all areas, is of great importance within the prevailing conditions in the world, today, when the imperialist super powers do everything possible to dominate nations, while bourgeois ideologists, revisionists and different opportunists with their reactionary theories, try to achieve and justify these actions in order to perpetuate the imperialist domination.

Our party has vigorously denounced these reactionary theories which consider the sovereignty of nations as an old fashioned concept, as a concept that creates disputes and wars. In the same vigorous way our party has

unmasked the infamous theory of the Soviet revisionists on "confined sovereignty" which justifies the Soviet socialist-imperialist domination of other countries. The acceptance of foreign troops, even under the cloak of the so-called "army from a socialist country," is in fact occupation, the loss of freedom and national independence.

One of the most important sources of the invincibility and strength of our socialist fatherland, has been and still is the steel-like unity of our people around the party, which has successfully faced threats, blackmail and continuous plots from imperialist and revisionist enemies. The party and the interests of the fatherland demand that we continue to strengthen this unity, because it is a decisive factor in the victory of the revolution, the construction of the socialist society and the protection of the fatherland. Therefore, it is necessary to keep our revolutionary vigilance high against all overtures by enemies at home and abroad, to develop the class struggle correctly, to implement continuously the party directives and guidelines and the lessons of Comrade Enver and to fight liberalism, sectarianism and other foreign expressions which undermine the unity of our people around the party.

The protection of the state is closely tied to our economy and to its multifaceted development. It is indivisible from the efforts of our people in the construction of socialism and from all the activity of the party and the state. There can never be a strong defense without a strong economy. The more the plans of the state are realized, the more production grows, the stronger the economy becomes, the stronger and invincible becomes the protection of the fatherland. Therefore, just to work and struggle to strengthen the protective capability of the state, by training and getting ready militarily, is not enough, because it is also necessary to work well and efficiently, with proletarian conscience and discipline and with a regimen of strict economy.

The Albanian Workers Party has perfected the military art of the people, which relies on the Marxist-Leninist theory, on the science of military revolution, on the experience of the Antifascist National Liberation War of our people and on the experience of the revolutionary wars of other nations. The party has faithfully implemented the lessons of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, which maintain that the proletariat, by creating a new army, must perfect a new military art and form, a new military science which can respond to the new social relations and to the new organization of the state. Our people's military art responds in a scientific way to the duties for the protection of the fatherland, to the existing special conditions in our country, to the principle of completely depending on our own forces and to the demands of the people's struggle.

Our military art is based on the principle of not yielding a single inch of our territory to the enemy. In our land young and old are getting ready for this. Our socialist nation has taken all the necessary measures to see that Albania will never be unprepared and will never be taken by surprise.

Comrades, the continued reinforcement of the country's defense is closely tied to the situations which are developing in the world today, to the hazards and threats from the aggressive expansionist policy of imperialists, socialist-imperialists and their allies, who menace the freedom and independence of nations.

The United States of America and the Soviet Union, driven by a thirst to dominate and exploit the whole world, are set on a mad contest to broaden and extend their spheres of influence, to create new strategic military bases and battle grounds of aggression, to control sources of raw materials and world trade and to tie nations and peoples to their chariot of war. In different areas they have incited armed conflicts and have created new hotbeds of tension, which are in danger of turning into big wars that will set the whole world on fire. The American imperialists and the Soviet socialist-imperialists, today represent the two principal columns of the bloody imperialist system, the biggest exploiters of nations, supporters of counterrevolutionary and reactionary forces in every country. Their strategic goal, for which they exploit all avenues, is the death of the revolution and the death of the people's liberation wars, the destruction of socialism, the perpetuation of the capitalist system and the dominance of colonialism.

The situation in the Middle East is the result of this expansionist policy; the Arab people lost their lands and wealth by violence, the Palestinian people have been denied the right to their own country, Israel, this faithful gangster of American imperialism, with unparalleled arrogance and brutality violates the rights and sacred traditions of the Palestinian people and other Arab nations. The superpowers have spread the fires of war to the whole continent of Africa. With the encouragement and interference of the superpowers different African countries are fighting each other and the blood of their long-suffering peoples is spilt in the interest of foreigners.

The situation in the Far East, where the superpowers have started different conflicts, such as the conflict between Vietnam and Cambodia, is dangerous and with far-reaching consequences. Typical of the imperialist superpower policy is the frenzied arms race, which has taken colossal proportions and which is one of the great sources of profit for the imperialists and the socialist-imperialists.

One can actually see the intensified efforts to strengthen the military blocs and to broaden their aggressive counterrevolutionary activity, in order to activate all the instruments and organisms of war which are controlled by the superpowers. American imperialists and Soviet socialist-imperialists, together with their NATO and Warsaw Pact aggressive blocs, keep huge military forces at the ready. By threats and blackmail they carry out different and continuous training exercises and maneuvers on the borders of other countries, while their air and sea fleets, located in different areas of the world, patrol and demonstrate their strength in

order to frighten different peoples and nations. At the same time various agreements and alliances are being made, which conceal new dangers and plots against peace and the security of nations. All these events prove that the two imperialist superpowers are feverishly getting ready to hurl the world into a new slaughterhouse.

The international situation becomes even more dangerous by the deep and universal political, economic and financial crisis which has enveloped the capitalist-revisionist world. This crisis which has brought about loss of production, rising inflation and millions of unemployed has worsened the living conditions of the working masses. Unable to find a solution, the imperialists and world capitalists seek salvation by militarizing the economy and by exploiting the workers even further. At the same time, they have intensified their expansionist goals in other countries, in order to further rob these nations of their raw materials and protect their monopolistic trade.

In circumstances such as this our party, as always, forcefully unmasks the plans of the American imperialists and the Soviet socialist-imperialists and the bourgeois, revisionist and opportunist theories which attempt to justify the preparations for a new war. The party works vigorously to further increase the military preparedness and vigilance of the people and to strengthen the economy at all levels in order to face all dangers. We know very well that our nation that is successfully building socialism and does not succumb to any foreign judgement or dictate, that unmasks without fear the aggressive policy of the imperialist superpowers and their tools, is hated by many enemies.

Today a great deal of demagoguery is going on to conceal the dangerous plots and plans which are developed against the freedom and independence of nations, plans to embellish and enhance the hegemony of imperialists and socialist-imperialists and the international bourgeoisie. The American imperialists and the Soviet socialist-imperialists have made a sensational racket to advertise their so-called desire to lower tensions, to have general disarmament, to help nations overcome poverty, to limit the trade in arms, to have zones free of atomic weapons, to reduce troops in Europe and so on. All these activities are aimed at mitigating the people's vigilance, reviving useless illusions and hopes, making way for aggression and expansion and keeping nations always oppressed and under their domination.

The policy of the superpowers, the attempts of reactionaries and the bourgeoisie to defend the oppression and exploitation of the working masses, are met by the resistance and opposition of nations and by the resistance of the progressive revolutionary forces in the world. These forces oppose the dictate of intervention by the big powers in their country's internal affairs, they struggle to defend their sovereignty and their national wealth. Peoples are becoming conscious of the dangers that threaten them from the warmongering plans of the superpowers and they reject the imperialist revisionist demagoguery which seeks to deceive them.

Our people and our party have and will continue to support the peoples revolutionary liberation wars, they have been and will continue to be in complete unity with all those who struggle for the freedom and independence of their country against imperialists, socialist-imperialists and reaction. Our working masses condemn all national oppressions and capitalist exploitation under any guise and form, they are against all racial and political discrimination. Our people believe that no matter how hard the situation, or how harsh and dangerous the imperialist, revisionist and opportunist intrigues, the cause of the revolution, of the freedom and independence of peoples and socialism will be victorious.

While celebrating the 35th anniversary of our heroic Peoples Army, the Party Central Committee is convinced that the armed forces, and working class, the cooperative farmers, the youth and women of our nation will close ranks more than ever around the party, they will mobilize with a new impetus to complete all the duties in the economic field and in the area of national preparedness, they will strengthen further the dictatorship of the proletariat, they will develop correctly and continuously the class struggle against the enemies within and without and their reactionary ideology, they will move forward the construction of socialism in our land.

Long live the 35th anniversary of the Peoples Army!

Long live our heroic army!

Long live our worker's party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

6160
CSO: 2100

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PRAGUE REPORTS FINAL ROUND OF TALKS BETWEEN TITO, HUA

Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0400 GMT 29 Aug 78 LD

[Text] The official Yugoslav-Chinese talks held at summit level ended on the Island of Brioni yesterday with another meeting between President Josip Broz Tito and Hua Kuo-feng, Chairman of the PRC State Council. According to a TANJUG report, the subject of the talks was the internal development of both countries and their five-year plans. Josip Broz Tito informed the Chinese visitor about the development of the SFRY and about the Yugoslav system of all-people's defense. Furthermore, he pointed to the importance of the recent conference of foreign ministers of nonaligned countries in Belgrade, and dwelt on the role of the nonaligned movement as an equal partner in the tackling of topical international problems. Josip Broz Tito devoted a great deal of his attention to the problem of detente, conflicts on the African continent and in particular the crisis in the Middle East and the possibilities for settling it.

With regard to Hua Kuo-feng's stance, the TANJUG Agency reported that he briefed the Yugoslav President about the main, characteristics and specific features of present Chinese policy, and explained the PRC's views on individual topical problems of international relations and cooperation.

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CSSR LEADERS CONGRATULATE CUBA ON NATIONAL DAY

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Jul 78 p 1 AU

[CTK Report: "Congratulations to Cuba"]

[Text] Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, and CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal have sent the following congratulatory telegram to Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the State Council and of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, on the 25th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada Barracks:

Dear Comrade Castro,

In the name of the CPCZ Central Committee, of the Government and people of Czechoslovakia, we are sending you, and through you to the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee, to the State Council, to the Council of Ministers and to the fraternal Cuban people most sincere greetings and cordial congratulations on the 25th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada Barracks--the National Day of the Republic of Cuba.

This heroic act has its lasting place in the modern history of the struggle of the Cuban people for freedom and national independence. It marked the beginning of revolutionary changes in Cuban society and opened up the road for the Cuban people to building a new, just socialist future.

Thanks to the principled policy of the Cuban Communist Party, consistently based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and the close alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, the Cuban people are achieving great successes today in implementing the conclusions of the first party congress and in building socialism in their country. Communists and all people of socialist Czechoslovakia highly value these successes and sincerely congratulate you on them.

The Republic of Cuba, as a firm component of the countries of the socialist community, actively participates in the struggle for the relaxation of

tension, strengthening peace and friendship among nations, and effectively contributes to the deepening of the unity and cohesion of the international communist and workers movement and to the heroic struggle of the revolutionary national liberation forces against imperialist domination.

We sincerely rejoice that the relations of firm friendship and comradely cooperation are developing successfully between our fraternal parties and countries and are convinced that they will continue to develop successfully for the benefit of the people of our countries, of the cause of socialism and progress and peace in the world.

From the bottom of our hearts we wish all communists and working people of Cuba further successes in building socialism, and to you personally, dear Comrade Castro, we wish much success in your work for the prosperity and happiness of the Cuban people.

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

'RUDE PRAVO' CRITICIZES FRENCH TV MOVIE ON CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Prague CTK in English 0937 GMT 25 Aug 78 LD

[Text] Prague, Aug 25, CETEKA--RUDE PRAVO criticizes today the recent one-hour program on Czechoslovakia Broadcast by the French FR 3 television channel:

Two years after the Helsinki Conference one would expect at least slight effort for a little more objective and deeper view of a country which, despite a different social system and the sad experience of the 1938 Munich Agreement, maintains a friendly attitude towards France and its people. According to already usual cliches, the program was based on lamentations of the enemies of socialism who live in Czechoslovakia and were talking allegedly under dangerous, illegal conditions. French spectators undoubtedly stood in fear for them, especially if nobody told them that the interviews were made beyond doubt at their private week-end houses and cottages.

The daily recalls the answer of the French television to the protest of the Czechoslovak Embassy in Paris saying that the FR 3 did not intend to "present an exhaustive document on the political, economic and social reality in the country (Czechoslovakia)."

This is to be an elegant excuse for a completely biased film but actually it is a confession. Sixty minutes is more than the usual time devoted to a program on one country--this film was the longest program on Czechoslovakia ever broadcast by the third French television channel. If it still did not aim at "presenting an exhaustive document on the reality" and was limited only to a record of slanders from those who stand aside of the life of our society, then it is not necessary to prove the intention at all, the daily says.

CSO: 2020

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

FRG CITIZEN EXPELLED--On 15 August FRG citizen Andreas Kasiske, a dentist from Gluecksburg was expelled from the CSSR. He brought with him to the CSSR a falsified FRG passport to be used by another person in illegally leaving the CSSR territory. According to A. Kasiske's admission other FRG citizens took part in this criminal activity. The Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs delivered a protest note to the FRG embassy in Prague which demanded that the FRG take appropriate measures to prevent a repetition of such criminal activities perpetrated by FRG citizens on CSR territory.
[Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Aug 78 p 2]

CSC: 2400

EAST GERMANY

GENERAL HOFFMANN ADDRESSES ROSTOCK WORKERS MILITIA RALLY

East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1812 GMT 17 Aug 78 DW

[Excerpts from speech by GDR National Defense Minister Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann at a Rostock military rally--recorded. The complete text of the speech is published in the Rostock OSTSEE ZEITUNG in German 18 Aug 78 p 3]

[Text] Twenty-five years ago, that is, before our National People's Army was set up, the GDR worker-peasant power created the workers militia in order to have an effective force to protect its achievements. A quarter of a century of stable, continuous and at all times reliably protected building of socialism in our fatherland, that alone is solid proof of the great merits of, among others, the defense and security organs of our republic, in whose ranks the armed workers formations in the enterprises and installations have been playing an important role as long as they have been in existence.

On the eve of the 10th anniversary of our republic's founding, when the first comrades were taking the oath of the workers militia, one of the comrades of the neighboring [word indistinct] shipyard in Wismar expressed in touching words what was moving many people at that hour. He said: We know what we have to defend; doing it, therefore, is natural for us fighters. We are proud to promise in public to our working people that we will not spare our strength and our life to effectively protect our state, our socialist achievements, and our lives against all attempts of the class enemy.

Our workers militia members stood their ground firmly in several test situations, standing in the frontline and repeatedly letting the class enemy feel the limits of his power. This was the case in the fall of 1956, when revisionist forces believed they could export counterrevolution to the GDR. It was the case in August 1961, when our workers militia, side by side with the National People's Army, the Bereitschaftspolizei, and the Soviet Army were taking over the protection of our state borders with West Berlin. It was also the case during the October 1970 "Waffenbruederschaft" maneuvers, when two workers militia battalions, shoulder to shoulder with our socialist brothers-in-arms, demonstrated their military skill, setting an outstanding example for our young soldiers with regard to exact military discipline and fulfillment of duty.

One can only greatly appreciate what has been achieved and still is being achieved by you and your fighters, as well as the workers militia members

in all GDR bezirke, who with great preparedness to act and firm discipline year by year in plants and installations are working for plan fulfillment and the socialist territorial defense of our republic. This is, last but not least, why our party and state leadership as well as the military leadership organs--ranging from the staff of the united armed forces to military bezirk command post--very highly assess the role played by our workers militia in making preparations for defending us against an imperialist aggression as well as in a defense situation.

If the protection of borders must be quickly reinforced, if state order must be maintained, if diversionist and paratroop units must be destroyed, if important objectives must be secured in the hinterland, and if the operational liberty of the united armed forces must be maintained, every commander and every staff of the National People's Army and the group of Soviet armed forces will also be counting on our workers militia formations as strong and reliable comrades-in-arms, as an indispensable part of the socialist territorial defense.

Dear Comrades, it seems to me that these facts are the best evidence of your tireless and successful work, which takes up many a weekend, which demands and receives understanding and support on the part of the family, which is part of the defense power of socialism and which, therefore, is and will remain a particularly painful thorn in the hide of the imperialists. Dear comrades, as Comrade Erich Honecker once said, you are incorporating a special way [words indistinct] the producing working class that is exerting power is also organizing its power militarily in order to make the fruits of its [?revolutionary) activity prevail. Workers militia service is a matter of proletarian responsibility; it is an always newly demonstrated loyalty to the party. It is service for the great aims of socialism and peace, service for the benefit of the people.

Dear comrades and fighters, I would like, therefore, to take the opportunity of thanking you all in the name of the National People's Army and the border troops for the successful and reliable work you have done in many cases for decades for the military protection of our socialist achievements. We believe that one of your significant contributions to socialist territorial defense, therefore, consist in the following: next to or during your working militia work, to convey correctly and always more effectively our ideology, the word of the party [words indistinct]. Relations between the people, particularly between the superior and the subordinate, the commander and the fighters, the parents and the children, the old and the young, must be shaped intentionally and wisely according to the norms of our class morality.

It is an old wise saying, particularly in the work collective, the family, and the school, that people will be educated or not educated with characteristics that are of fundamental significance for standing one's ground in life in the civilian as well as the military fields. Intellectually ambitious and personally modest (?people)--you all are intellectually ambitious; I am just (?speaking of myself)--we all are intellectually ambitious, but

whether we are personally modest, that is something different. (?people must be) creatively restless but simultaneously disciplined; they must be honest and diligent and have learned from the very beginning to think not just of themselves but also of the collective, of the society. They must act with their brains and hearts for the community, for socialism.

The personal example of comrades, of all comrades, of us, of me, of all, is playing a great role. In our ranks we do not just have tens of thousands of the best members and candidate members of our party--particularly in the workers militia--but also many, many thousands of the best production workers and employees who are affiliated with no party. You can say without exaggerating that you, the workers militia, the directly armed working class, represent the armed people in the spirit of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Many of you, whether you are comrades or affiliated with no party, play a leading part in the party's role in territorial defense, particularly with your individual approach, the implementation of your duties at work, in the plant, the combat unit, as well as at home.

The party demands that every comrade, and particularly every party functionary and every state manager, must know about the dangers threatening us despite all successes of detente, that he must have firmly shaped ideas of the character, course, and effect of modern combat actions, and that he must realize how much the outcome of such a war will be decided by the action of the people, its strength of resistance and its ability to act as the backbone and [words indistinct] of the armed forces. Vietnam is an example: the Vietnamese people [words indistinct] against the most modern arms of the world. Then [words indistinct] every comrade, functionary and manager must implement [?thoroughly) his military-political responsibility in his enterprise or territory.

If you realize that even in the deepest peace you must see to it that good preparations are being made for war, you will ask yourself in regard to every industrial, construction, or transport project, as well as the education and upbringing of people, the same question that was formulated by the great Marshal Frunze, and here I quote: will that be in accord with the defense of the country; can it be handled--without doing any harm to peaceful demands--in such a way that it will warrant the fulfillment of certain defense tasks?

Well comrades, if we will keep this in mind, the worker-peasant power's bearers of arms--the comrades of the workers militia, the working class, and the members of the armed organs as well as all our communists--will be able to always reinforce their ranks with aware and capable defenders of socialism and to always honorably fulfill their military class mission (?of defending our building) [words indistinct]. I wish you and all members of the Rostock Bezirk workers militia much success for the future as well as the best personally.

EAST GERMANY

FOREIGN AFFAIRS JOURNAL ATTACKS PRC EFFORT TOWARD WORLD HEGEMONY

[Editorial Report] East Berlin HORIZONT in German Volume 11 No 35, 1978 signed to press 21 August 1978, pages 8-10, carried an article by Heinz Landmann and Gerhard Zazworka entitled "Peking Hegemonism--A Dangerous Attempt To Seize World Domination." The article attacks Peking for having discontinued all aid to Vietnam and accuses the PRC of having launched a wild campaign of slander against Vietnam. The cutoff of Chinese aid to Albania is similarly condemned. The authors then analyze the nature of Peking's "hegemonism," citing a Mao Tse-tung statement of 1959 on the need to conquer the world. The article elaborates on "Great Han chauvinism," the territorial demands of Chinese leaders, their "intrigues against the interests of world socialism," the "imperialist card in Peking's world-power game," Peking's "demagogic double-dealing in Asia, Africa and Latin America," and the PRC effort to develop the military and economic base for expansionism. In conclusion, the authors warn that the world power ambitions of the Peking leaders will be thwarted by reality and argue that "the peoples of our era do not shake off the yoke of imperialist exploitation and suppression only to let themselves be enslaved by a Maoist empire. The revolutionary world process leads mankind from the last exploitation system of history to socialism and communism where there is no room for Peking's 'hegemonism'."

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

BRIEFS

GRADUATION OF ARMY OFFICERS--On Saturday (12 August) this year's graduates of the officer's colleges of the GDR National People's Army and Border Troops were appointed lieutenants at solemn rallies and dismissed from troop service. A total of 133 of them received a honorary dirk with engravings at the order of the minister of national defense for excellent results in their studies. Col Gen Horst Stechbarth, deputy defense minister, conveyed the cordial congratulations of Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and national defense minister, to the young officers at the Ernst Thaelmann Officers' College of the Ground Forces in Loebau. "On the same day Deputy Defense Minister Lt Gen Wolfgang Reinhold, Adm Wilhelm Ehm and Lt Gen Erich Peter appointed the graduates of the officers' colleges of the air and air defense force named after Franz Mehring, of the people's navy named after Karl Liebknecht and of the GDR border troops named after Rosa Luxemburg to the first officers' grade." [Summary] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Aug 78 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2300

CHANCES OF MARXISM WEIGHED

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian Feb 78 pp 6-7

[Article by Laszlo Tokeczki: "The Chances of Marxism"]

[Text] One cannot formulate final and finally correct answers to questions which have an everyday practical linkage. We can only attempt individual and temporary summaries in the possession of definite, accepted and thought out theoretical preconceptions and practical experience. What I write is not indisputable; indeed, it is possible that it is entirely wrong.

There are two conditions for an approach to Marxism:

1. A subjective-individual interest, quality or possibility: a. intellectual identification; b. emotional identification.
2. Institutional forms, methods or possibilities: a. in school frameworks; b. in "public life" frameworks.

Of the two conditions I consider the first more important because even in the absence of the latter the former can lead someone to Marxism while the latter, in the absence of the former, can only educate "chameleons." Naturally, it would be stupid to separate the two mechanically. Especially in our society where a cross-fertilization of the two can take place many times even in the case of a single personality (family circumstances, historically developed mental elements, etc.). The most important factor leading to Marxism, interest in society--at the macro and micro level alike--is given in advance for adolescents beginning to step into the world. But two gigantic obstacles arise: just as one can find in most sensible teen-agers a more or less deliberate turning against the value system of their parents, the same thing happens in regard to the "school world view" which is pounded in beginning in general school, the foundations of which certainly lead to Marxism. The "lifelessness" of the history teaching conception which I know relatively well (treating former societies as "class struggle" or "revolutionary" when teaching as age group or age groups the conceptual development of which still lacks a

certain degree of social abstraction) reduces the "guidance" to the level of a parental "text".

Marxism is represented, without content, by formulations, abstract evaluations, constant turns of phrase and reflexes and, in any case, the psychological, individual-human sides of Marxism intended as a norm for practice are the least developed. And so it can offer the least support to the practice of the teen-ager. At the same time there are enormous difficulties for an emotional identification: the still existing prejudices which could not be extirpated in what is a short period in the history of a society, the anti-communism pounded in for 25 years, the strong traces of religion at the level of customs, the sadly remembered practice of the Stalin distortions or the petty bourgeois phenomena of the new individualism, etc.

These things, plus the formalism of everyday, the departure or independence of personal life from "public life," all these things make it difficult for adolescents to accept, in the hope of identification, even facts and processes which they may understand. Teen-agers argue, on the grounds that it is not self-evident, but with the least foundation, argument or experience. Nothing repels them more than the constant unanimous voting, the constantly repeated festive speeches, the possible emotion of which cannot make them forget the generalities which remain unchanged for years and which thus have become empty. Reason may protest in the name of study materials understood and logical conclusions proven but it cannot identify with these nor with those world view classes (and teachers) where the always unchanging truth is revealed. Unfortunately the majority do not even argue, seek or try to understand. They identify with nothing and with nobody. They are apathetic, and feel only that something here is lame. This the communal basis for formalism; the army of prestige-consumers of private life comes from here.

And let us look at intellectual identification. This certainly comes into being in the case of those most interested, with the color of abstract-ethical truth. But again, two things are involved. Identification with Marxism, if real understanding is involved, does not mean identification with the "school ideology" derived from that philosophy. Nothing repels the children more than those explanations which "supplement" relatively clear situations. In the natural absence of the relativity of the concept of good and evil only praxis can bring the "practical dialectic" and no sort of explanation or prestige can take the place of this. Our teen-agers today receive information and impulses from many sources and so it exactly the best and most interested who are not affected by the "blarney," the journalistic argument, the lifelessness of which is exposed most drastically precisely at the level of the micro-world which is dominated not by the antithetical pairs of revolution-counterrevolution, progress-reaction, etc. but rather by the psychologically colored contrasting pairs of work-shirking, "backbone-spinelessness," "color-grayness," etc. It is just here that the outworn historical explanations, the literary and musical

cliches and political stereotypes recoil. The unchanging repetition of memorized and contentless sentences in a subjectively more complex situation evokes the reaction "We already know that!"

Perhaps, according to many, I am going round and round on little questions of no consequence. Maybe. Perhaps, because they derive from the vicious circle of my own experiences. Perhaps, because I see them from an everyday proximity.

The unity of the world has broken down repeatedly. An awareness of mutual interdependence has developed already; but the atomization of everyday life remains. It is as if the school and the KISZ would reflect this duality. The relative isolation and protection of the school and its world richer in illusions try to teach on the professional and moral basis of a totality. This, roughly, is the world of the smarter and well-meaning teachers and of the students who are "protected" from everything in the school. Up close the situation is entirely different. But sticking to our narrower theme, the chances of Marxism are apparently more favorable in the school. It is less mixed with "alien practice," it remains "sterile," it is tamed into something coherent and logical which can be studied as a subject. Because what the children receive and can absorb here is really a collection of definitions reduced to something with the "character of conviction" the very school subject character of which kills it. No world view, least of all Marxism, can be made into "something to be studied." A "thing to be studied"--not expounding, of course, the Marxist motifs of other school subjects--excludes exactly the thinking person. A person without ethics can "master" it in his own micro-world just as well as the "devout." I do not want to list well known examples and types. A student speaking in formalistic terms says something quite different "officially" than he does, let us say, on the soccer field, at a dance, etc. If the teacher has been able to win their confidence the mood which arises is expressed, "That may be so here, you understand, sir." Unfortunately, even confidence won does not necessarily mean any ethical, professional or world view influence in an understandable way on a teen-ager who has a "public life" turn of mind at school.

What do I mean by "public life"? I mean the opposite of the classical "the right hand does not know what the left hand is doing." It is to know very well, "to be in possession of one's faculties." Perhaps I am making somewhat excessive moral demands. Perhaps I am a pessimist: In my opinion it is in this sphere, or rather in the youth movement which prepares for this, that Marxism has the least chance, and the radiating effect of this, this total picture, threatens to stifle the "positive" spores of the other three elements.

It must be seen that Marxism, as a scientific world view striving for objectivity, is impossible without social and self reflection. It becomes rigid and becomes just one on many conceptions of the world, or it changes into an atheistic, objective idealism in a form which does not realize

such requirements of its methodology, a "creed" of a few holy laws and articles. A developing young person can criticize but he has very little self-criticism--for objective, psychological reasons. He vehemently defends accepted views and values up to the alternative point of the first conflict situation. And he then attacks the same views with the same passion with which he formerly defended them. Here the situation of the school becomes delicate. In the majority of cases it is not in a "debating position." Very few of the teachers get close enough to the children, humanly or in world view, to debate with them and so they leave school with a certain "immunity."

The formalism of the youth organization and the character of its membership and mobilization have been known well enough for some time. This is not changed by the fact that recently it has had an increasing role in creating occasions for amusement. Every sober analyst must see that from the world view point of view such occasions are most indifferent, disregarding the unfavorable but politically motivated effect (at the level of "anywhere else") of their possible absence. Attendance at ideological occasions and the activity there, and the non-spontaneous character of them, are low--if one does not seek and see what one would like but rather what really exists.

On the one hand the youth organizations have too many "patrons" and on the other they are periodic cultural (dance, theater, soccer, etc.) associations. The former is typical of the school situation. The organizations of the children are arenas for the after-hours "man and world view forming" activity of teacher leaders following central guiding principles. Do not misunderstand me, I am not objecting to the presence of the teachers. I am objecting to the quality of their presence. The hours are a free time continuation of educational directedness; the openly directive character of the "suggestions" make the youth organizations in the schools into a machine as if the students were the least important thing in them. The constant meetings, formal debates and undertakings appear as a waste of time precisely to the smartest children whom, naturally, the organization needs and who, naturally, play a leading role--because they plan to continue their studies (I see this personally on a daily basis). And there is nothing worse than a person with a dual awareness. Because, among other things, there are important needs and demands even in a role undertaken formally and because the "resistance" within them, unadmitted and not cleared up, constantly leads to faulty judgments and in the end to a private "philosophy of life." Obviously this is not what our teachers want to achieve and yet this is more or less the average social result. What is wrong? Who is or are at fault?

The teaching of the school version of Marxism is much too didactic and, let us say it openly, apologetic. It never lets the student draw his own conclusions. Only a homogenous social medium could maintain a permanent teleology--without doubts--and such a medium does not now exist.

An environment being transformed (most frequently this means a breakdown of family structures), the disappearance of saints, ethical prohibitions, acceleration, environmental pollution, violence and social memories (Trianon, the Horthy regime, fascism, etc.) are all social and awareness elements which have a strengthened role in a society being urbanized (and for some strata, being rendered "bourgeois") amidst the conditions of socialism. And all these elements run counter to Marxism as a philosophy, or to the associated ideology. Naturally, the effects of these are differentiated for different individuals as they are for different social strata. They can be conceived of as virtually the natural development reactions of a medium which is changing culturally and in awareness. The erstwhile isms and world view crisis products of Western societies show such a situation as necessary social stations. But amidst our conditions there are only two alternatives; one by one the middle courses become individual courses, with a neutralizing world view tendency. Accept and identify--or not; but the latter can be, institutionally, only a religious way of life. It is not by chance that we can see recently an increase in the religious interest of young people. Of course--again, this is only an individual opinion--this attraction is not profound, not thought through. It represents a search for otherness and individuality. I believe that the category of Gyorgy Lukacs, "religious atheism," would fit this phenomenon well. Obviously I am now describing a simplified position. A relationship leading to irrationality can be judged only on the individual level, almost always.

I might also mention here the reappearance of nationalist sentiments. Of course, this is a tendency which can be observed around the world but it is not without Hungarian peculiarities. This curse of our history also seems suitable to serve as a world view foundation. The danger is increased, unfortunately, by the fact that it enjoys virtually an official party position in a few places in Europe. The "nation" is no longer linked to a "discrediting" of policy. This unofficial nature makes it attractive, something to be tried.

Of course, there are not only psychological and historical sides to the defective or unexperiencable nature of the real prospects. As I see it there is a mutually complementary complex of economic and ethical problems on the other side. For us today human behavior oriented toward secular life and the reducing of obstacles still rests upon the base of an economy with limited capacity. There is a contradiction between the total nature of the ethical goals and demands and the momentarily given economic possibilities for their realization. And the contradiction still engages the attention of the "consumer" majority in the mirror of an economically more developed but ideologically contradictory world system. And here again world view education makes a mistake; it tries to explain how we are better not historically but rather with negative examples ripped out of context. A typical example of this scoring, in my opinion, is that history teaching position according to which one must teach not historical

facts but rather only "interdependencies", which "traces the logic" leading to the necessity of our age even from the iddle ages. Under its influence every conclusion, even the most sensible, is "derived" as a commonplace from mere talk.

Formal truth does not teach one to make qualitative distinctions. And thus the perfect definition received in answer to a question represents only a form, a linguistic unit--without ethical commitment. The life expectancy of such truths depends not on themselves but rather on the conflicts of the external world--the first crisis breaks them down as a result of individual interest of the least sign of force and sometimes as a result of insight.

The real chance for Marxism lies in a conviction which is not formal.

8984

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HUNGARY

WORLD VIEW OR TOTAL UNCERTAINTY

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian Feb 78 pp 7-8

[Article by Agnes Becsy: "World Uncertainty or World View?"]

[Text] It is a risky thing to say this, that or the opposite--in a word, anything--about the link between Marxism and young people for the possibility of disputation attaches to such a statement. Only avoiding an unambiguous statement can ensure the cheap comfort of indisputability. A careful definition of the sphere of its validity does not ensure this--not even in the case of the present lines. And yet certain restrictions are necessary. In the first place I can talk relatively directly, though, it may be, according to an experience not entirely free of contingency, about my own age group--about young people who began to think at the end of the 1960's, more proximately about an intellectual minority. (Obviously, a sphere of different experiences would notice other things.) In the second place, even if in the given case the linguistic form seems to hide the fact, I can write as a participant and not as an outsider. In the third place if I speak disproportionately more about difficulties and obstacles **it is done** not out of an obvious self-flagellation nor for the purpose of casting doubt on positive possibilities and realities. It is to be hoped that the reality and value of these will be emphasized by mentioning certain problems. One cannot make a statement in more important matters without generalizing; for the lack of something better I can only say that "the question is extraordinarily complex." But to make generalizations and to try to establish trends, hypothesizing the existence of laws, is not nearly so popular as playing it safe, thus to say nothing disputable but only "to allow" that "everything depends on everything else" and thus "in the final analysis" it is "very complicated."

All this, I know is too long and pompous to serve as a winning introduction. But it was not written as an excuse because--compare above--this cannot be guaranteed. Still, it does "lead up to" that theme which I would like to discuss in detail, a theme which--this may finally appear--goes beyond the narrower question of the relationship of Marxism and the narrower age or other classification of "youth" as designated.

To turn from suggestive allusions to more conceivable matters--while retaining something of the form of personality--let me cite a painful memory as an example. It happened in the course of a debate taking place amidst official frameworks that I had to defend my position, having come into conflict in some question with a few (university student) participants. The adjective "Marxist" appeared several times in what I had to say--not as a canonical argument but only for the sake of precision. These phrases evoked a palpable resistance. When I used the expression "Marxist esthetics" what became important for a few participants was no longer the question being debated but rather "Well, good, but what is 'Marxist esthetics'?--as a quasi-argument against me. The metacommunication of the question became most complex: Let's not play games here, let's not be good boys, let's admit that that wreck "Marxist esthetics" is only a word, because what is it, you can't say. Was I thinking of Lukacs? Well, that's Lukacs and not "Marxist Esthetics." Let's stop obscuring things, let's not sharpshoot from behind colorless and odorless slogans, let's get on with it. This "set up" the debate. I could have won in a formal way. I saw that I was the foxy little conformist (or, God knows, dogmatic?) but I could not be right. In the final analysis it is an empirical fact that today he is right who "does not know" and he is not right who "knows." The latter knows something and the question "Well, what is that?" and the answer "One cannot know" ensures the "superiority" of what is indisputable to those who oppose him.

Lest I give cause for misunderstanding I must add to all this that I do not say that all those present were representatives of the above illustrated world picture of "one cannot know" (there were a goodly number who "knew" desperately seriously "what it was" and others who probably knew something else, with the emphasis on the "something else"); I must add that I could find traces of the doubting attitude in myself too, if I looked for them; and I must add that I would not like to regard this intellectual behavior purely as perverseness, I regard it rather as the result of social causes. And if the causes can be cleared up--obviously not overnight--then a few of the erroneous reactions to Marxism--springing from the same root--of a generation can turn into an understood reality instead of something negative rejected without understanding--the outsider in opposition, the hypersuspicious stubborn believer and the militant ethical individualist.

It is not an insignificant circumstance that the 20 year olds of today were not "founders" of socialism (a radical social transformation) but rather, as compared to their parents, are heirs born in it. For them Marxism-Leninism is the ideology of a social form and power which is presented to them, in a certain sense, as an accomplished fact in the mirror of which theory passes judgment not only as a flexible guiding potential to action but rather as an immediate and rigid "readjustment."

It is well known that non-conformism has an effect--with varying profundity and credit--among the young; the aspiration to accept nothing as

given until proven by their own reason and ethics. But non-conformism goes beyond the half-baked level of incomplete decisions or fashion and can be realized in a healthy and useful completeness. A half-hearted non-conformism, the "obligatory" scruples in regard to socialism and the theory which "adjust" it, raises the problem already indicated. It indicates the lack of an independent choice and builds the agreeable position of an easily won superiority. There can be no doubt that self-evident social abuses play a role in this inertia (not even to mention now the mixed ideological traditions). At the level of fashion far fewer concrete facts are needed to generalize disillusionment than vice versa. If there are abuses they hide the fact there are not only abuses. And if there are abuses then practice does not in some miraculous way prove the irrefutability of a theory which necessarily rests on deductions and generalizations and hides in itself these or those choices. He who plays it safe prefers "not to choose" and retreats into the prolonged uncertainty of deliberation where it is enough to doubt and one does not have to decide--indeed, it is dangerous to do so.

The 20 year olds of today are not only faced with more "accomplished" facts than their predecessors, they are less forced to choose. The security of their material and spiritual existence and circumstances and the soundness of the given social order, which cannot exactly not be changed but which still represents "comfort," are obviously less suitable for demanding from them with existential urgency a recognition of the basic tendencies operating in life, the laws which oblige one to choose, and drawing the conclusions for action than was the case for the preceding generation which was so much more strongly forced by the circumstances of 30 years ago. The alternatives of reality are felt with much less elemental force and appear with less of an immediacy gathered into obvious lines of force; they appear rather in a system of intermediaries and transpositions demanding a gradual and increasingly vigilant penetration and intellectual care. A "slowing" in this sense of the original impetus of social transformation--not free of problems but sharply alternative--becomes increasingly tangible in the 1970's. This "slowing" involves an understandable broadening and cumulative effect of social movements, "becoming everyday," etc. All this results in a complexity of tendencies which is more difficult to grasp and so in a certain sense it is true that the world has become more "complicated."

A generation which knows this more complex situation to be its own reality--in this case, "its difficult inheritance"--is irritated, not without cause and foundation, by a dead certain theory which simplifies all facts--and thus by statements evoking the inheritance of dogmatism. This also explains why it is inclined in a suspicious way to use the accusation "dogmatism" in a way which exceeds its applicability. In the eyes of those who view the "complex" situation the suspicion of tendentious simplification can shade over into categorical thinking and the making of statements and choices. For every alternative action is forced to seek the "simple"--

the law contained therein--in the complex, in the name of effective understanding. But young people are inclined to place the exclusive emphasis on what they experience most directly, on complexity, and to stop there. Because they have a pathological horror of the possibility of making a mistake. If we view this "sickness" from the perspective of experiences given by the past then we can see the signs of "health" in it, that which makes this behavior---at least in the eyes of its representatives---so valuable and justified.

It is the paradox of this state of doubting indifference that it longs for security, for a proven validity, as the lame man longs for a crutch. "Well, good, but what is this 'Marxist esthetics'?" The superior question not only suggests that "it is too bad that it does not really exist" but also that it should exist--something round and sure and definite like a can with a factory label which says what is in it and that it can be consumed safely. They are demanding of Marxism a "single" system of rules which will not force them to take upon themselves the risk of decision in the spirit of Marxism, hit or miss, questioning the whole. (In regard to their roots, there is nothing more closely related to the meditative outsider and the suspicious stubborn person who "wants to be a Marxist" than he who thinks on the basis of superficial manifestations.)

In some circles it is not popular to be a Marxist--or to talk like one. To choose that personality which desires practical consequences, which would mean responsibility for individual decisions which are never certainly infallible; which a view hypnotized by complexity can very easily suspect of dogmatism; which emotional non-conformism often confuses with the opportunity for mendacious self-advancement. He who calls himself a Marxist not only may find himself opposed to the aristocratism of the deliberators, not only may evoke the suspicion of the super-Marxism of the stubborn "students," but also may evoke the suspicion of being a conformist, the hypothesis that he very likely seeks only personal advantage. This unspoken and stubborn suspicion has an effect even if the foundation for it has decreased in reality (although it has not disappeared entirely). If someone calls himself a Marxist without any thought of personal advantage he may get into the odd position of viewing himself with doubtful conscience, because of the general suspicion. It is difficult--personally and psychologically--to adopt an ideology in power credibly, with the suspicions; in fact, in some circles, it is to join a power minority. Not rarely a militantly "individual Marxism," an ethical individualism "suspected of deviation" and emphasizing distinctions and differences, is very likely a reaction to this situation, compensating for the profound suspicions which so easily question credibility.

There is something which favors to no small degree a strengthening of the doubts and the compensations. I am thinking of the practical criteria for recognizing "being a Marxist" or "being a socialist." There are still retained mechanical or bureaucratic aspects. For example, in the

in the everyday evaluation more weight is given to "confessions," to going to a construction camp, to "public" activity, for example in the KISZ (even if it is such supplementary activity as it often is), than is given to the execution and quality of study and work. There is hardly any standard regarding how one should realize his world view decisions in a concrete--and useful--form. Confessions, declarations and feverish supplementary activity are sometimes equated to real activity and results, if they take their place.

This is the point where the question seems to point beyond itself--in the momentum of realized choice and activity, the value of results. If, in the eyes of one age group at least, the deed is more suspect than the deliberation, if preparation "eats up" the decisive beginnings and the intellectual value of caution, pondering the complications and incapable of decisions, "eats up" the value of action and of achievements, then this indicates that the value of effective action and results has been relatively devalued in public awareness in general, that the compelling strength of realized quality has decreased in practice.

Mastering Marxism means independent renewed study and active realization. Working with the principle of historicism Marxism indicates its own historicism. Thus, renewed study does not mean mechanical "translation," the study of practical innovations or beginning anew; it means a critical acquaintance with a whole which lives in dialectical historical movements and a linking of the whole thus known into historical reality. This is a process of choice and definition--it is not discriminative and it is not indifferent. It is questionable to what degree this content of the Marxist mentality is realized in the social criteria for education and expectation, for incentive and judgment. This content is an activity which chooses, the requirement of quality. (And thus I have "undertaken" to formulate for myself, today, what is modern and positive in Marxism--and only in Marxism.)

8984

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ADDITIONAL COMMENT ON PROBLEMS OF YOUTH AND MARXISM

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian Jul 78 pp 7-8

[Article by Andras Domany, of Hungarian Radio: "Public Life or 'Public Life'."]

[Text] It has been a long time since I read anything with such ambivalent emotions as I read the articles by Laszlo Tokeczki and Agnes Becsy in the February issue of KRITIKA. Much of what they said I consider to be true, thought provoking and something to be taken to heart. I respect them for saying these things but I must definitely dispute a few of their ideas.

I consider it very true that there naturally is a social interest in adolescent young people. It may seem to contradict my own experiences but I never believed in the idea of young people being passive and indifferent ab ovo; if such exist one must always seek the reason.

It is also true that clever young people always protest against the value system of their parents, of adult society, and that our society is generally incapable of exploiting the enormous energies hiding in this, energies which potentially would serve our socialist goals. Certainly, a large part of the "adult" society expects "good children" who agree with everything and respect everything which has gone before and does not strive to see that in the course of the natural agitation the youth should progress to an understanding and approval of the essence of our social system and our philosophy--but not necessarily of every detail.

There really are many obstacles to an emotional identification by the young with even the truth they understand. Tokeczki provided examples here from the weak history and world view instruction all the way to the unbearably boring holiday speeches which say nothing. I also accept that man today stands before much more everyday (?) alternatives than revolution or counterrevolution, progress or reaction--honesty or "a little 'umbulda'" ("everybody does it"), taking a stand or spinelessness, work or shirking. But is Agnes Becsy's statement true, then, that thanks to ensuring comfort we are less forced to choose? (To ignore for the moment

an analysis of to what strata of Hungarian youth it would be a great exaggeration to attribute the ensuring of this comfort--this would require stepping out of groups which are stewing in their own juice.) Do not the things I listed above require important choices?! There are the choices today; this is where the struggle is.

Of course, somewhere the two sorts of things must be linked together. And here comes the reason why I am writing this answer and that in which I have an argument--primarily with Laszlo Tokeczki. Can one come to Marxism in theory by means of intellectual-emotional identification? (I might also ask: Can one get to an intellectual-emotional identification by theoretical means?) He later writes himself that such an identification comes into being "with the color of abstract-ethical truth." Well, sure. And although he also writes that a mechanical separation is stupid--how true that is!--it is here that he stumbles. What, for him, is the opposite of abstract identification? It is "public life." Please note, not public life, but "public life." (And for Agnes Becsy it is not public activity, but "public" activity.)

A public life and public activity without quotation marks might have protected them from leading us into the ivory tower of abstract-ethical truth, a barren and pseudoradical, useless and self-serving non-conformist opposition to actual reality. Does the KISZ need me to argue with the summary statement that its "formalism" and the "character" (what character?) "of its membership and mobilization have been known well enough for some time."? Personal experiences may be of many types but I consider it impossible to dispose of the political mass organization of Hungarian youth with one sentence. I will make only a few observations about secondary school KISZ organizations.

Is there a great deal of formality? Yes, there is still a lot, although it has decreased much in recent years. But one can counteract this effectively from within too and--I repeat--with no small effect. The senseless formality really does have a destructive effect--and frequently it derives not from rules which are valid today but rather from ossified custom. However, there is also a "but" here. It is shocking how often even clever people confuse empty formality with a democratic decision mechanism, with organizational life. Is it bureaucracy that one cannot elect a leadership or pass other resolutions without a decision? Is it formalism if every idea put forward must be thought through in a fundamental way? There is only one form of leadership free of formalism: absolute autocracy, one person dictatorship! Democratism is accompanied by conferences, debates, writing and rewriting materials, the substantive work which takes place within forms.

What is the character of the KISZ membership? It is obviously more substantive than it was but there are still many formal KISZ members. But a large role is played in this by the already mentioned behavior of parents and teachers: "Join, my boy, it can do no harm...." For the normal adolescent has a horror of participating formally in something in which he has no interest.

And what about mobilization? It is better to the extent that the schools and higher KISZ organs do not take away the spirit of the young with senseless and harmful padding movements. It is always easy to mobilize someone for a sensible and sympathetic goal--if this is aided by suitable organizational preparation and understanding! Unfortunately many are inclined to throw the latter in with the superfluous bureaucratic baggage although frequently the causes of the loss of spirit and the apparent political passivity are careless movements which are badly organized "professionally." Social work can be a sensible and sympathetic goal and this includes the construction camps given a strange emphasis by Agnes Becsy, political debate clubs and student parliaments (if they do not teach that those who speak the truth will suffer for it), study movements, etc.

As for occasions for mobilization, I do not see, as a "sober analyst," that amusements "are most indifferent from the world view point of view"! Amusement in itself would truly be too little in a communist (!) youth federation but--especially for young people--a separation here is senseless. With what and how do they amuse themselves, what sort of music do they listen to and how, what sort of "higher culture" can be mixed in with this, what sort of behavioral forms and what sort of moral examples do the youth seeking amusement learn? Is this indifferent from the world view point of view? Hardly! Let us think of the excursions and camps, the patrol competitions, the dance houses and folk music--these would not exist without the support of the KISZ. If they are handled sensibly they will be effective. To such an extent that in my opinion the programs "only for amusement" and the artistic (?) work have a greater world view education effect, in both the good and bad direction, than those to which people go with an awareness that, "Well, they want to convince us of something here."...

I do not know what is meant by a ideological occasion. If this means a badly organized or phrase mongering get-together, an empty celebration, then young people will really attend them only on orders and they will not be active. But I and many of my journalistic colleagues go to many KISZ political forums which are well attended, where people are active on their own because they are getting sincere human words, answers free of tabus to what interests them in the events of the world or our homeland or their narrower environment. And if what Tokeczki says is true, that every adolescent is naturally interested in society, then the causes of passivity should not be sought in a lack of interest.

The causes should be sought, rather, in a school atmosphere in which there is no debate, in which there are "holy laws," where the adults are always right because they came into the world earlier and where the suggestions have an openly directive character. All this is really very common. The secondary school KISZ members are the youngest and least experienced. Many adults do not understand how to educate and form the kids from the background

regarding them sincerely as partners, as adults more or less, without violating the organizational independence of the KISZ. It is alarming how strong a stupid and inhuman prestige principle still is even among some young teachers! I consider the teacher training universities much more responsible for this than for the possible deficiencies in professional knowledge, which can be made up at any time.

I also have an aversion to people exhibiting a dual behavior. But if it is our desire that the young people of today should not be spineless and exhibit dual behavior then the method cannot be to call public life "public life" with a characteristic intellectual contemptuous gesture; rather, we should guarantee that social practice is acquired!

Do we, with constant meetings, crush just those smartest ones who will be leaders? It is really just the smartest ones who most need this political experience! It is true that this involves tensions--but he who stands above the average of his age group in intellectual maturity will have tensions even if he is not a KISZ leader just as he who, let us say, is ahead of his classmates in physical development. This also involves sacrifice and giving things up and later even the danger that one will become too accustomed to holding office. But this is how one can and must attain to an understanding of the politics of everyday and even to an understanding of what should not be accepted therefrom. The statement that people accept leadership positions "because they plan to continue their studies" is a most harmful and offensive generalization. May Laszlo Tokarczki forgive me but I am very sorry if he meets only with careerists.

Finally, in regard to an idea of Agnes Becsy. She is right that there are no standards as to how one should realize world view decisions. It is also true that if declarations without deeds count more than action without fanfare then this is a distorted and mendacious state of affairs. But I will not undertake to praise the behavior characterized by "Let us cultivate our own garden" or "I work and study well, I do my work, this is how I build socialism." There are many citizens, often without a Marxist world view, who work thus and merit respect for their work. But this is not sufficient as a goal in educating the young!

Let me quote two closing sentences. One is: "The content of the Marxist mentality...is an activity which chooses." And the other is: "The real chance for Marxism lies in a conviction which is not formal." Both sentences are true. This is why I have written all this. I am convinced that one cannot identify with Marxism intellectually or emotionally--I will say more, one cannot become a communist--as an outsider. It is not enough to see errors and scold. One must act, from within, in the community, in public life. Without quotation marks.

STUDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS MARXISM NOTED

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian Jul 78 pp 8-9

[Article by Laszlo Zsolnai, university student, Karl Marx Economics University: "The 'Unread Marx'."]

[Text] Three reasons prompt me to contribute to the debate on youth and Marxism. The first is that, following Gyorgy Lukacs, I also think that there is no "innocent" philosophical position, no "innocent" world view. It would appear that the participants in the debate thus far (especially Agnes Becsy) have forgotten this. In the second place, I would not presume to entrust the world view formation of the youth to Zsuzsa Koncz or Tamas Cseh! Finally, I am prompted to make a contribution by Istvan Darday's outstanding "Film Novel" which I saw recently. One of the heroines, Agi (a student at an economics university), is an avowed philosophizer. And she does this--according to her lights--in a Marxist manner.

At the beginning of her article Agnes Becsy writes that the youth, more precisely the university youth, speak disproportionately more about difficulties and obstacles and in regard to the past and present relationship of Marxism. Unfortunately disproportionately few speak disproportionately little about this. Let me note that, like Agnes Becsy, I also am trying to characterize the relationship to Marxism of the university students of today--I go primarily to social science universities--from within, as an insider. My basic hypothesis is that one can get to Marxism by several paths. And further that the relationship to Marxism is a relationship to Marx (with a slight, but essential, narrowing down), to the lifework of Marx. In what follows I also will make use of "categorization" thus attempting to describe the contemporary relationship to Marxism of those studying in social science schools, assuming the risk of summary judgment.

There really are circles, primarily in the social science universities, where it is not a popular thing to be a Marxist, as Agnes Becsy writes. Marxism is not fashionable among them. They prefer Habermans, Marcuse, Keynes, a few of the younger members of the old Lukacs school and others. These groups are informed in extraordinarily broad spheres, although

superficially. They know a little bit about everything and everybody. Especially about Western philosophical and social science events, effects and trends. That is, they know the "names." Even the "lesser names." Especially the "names" of the Marxologists. On the basis of all this they make summary, sarcastic pronouncements. Such as: "Marx, yes,...he was a talented historian" or "Lukacs is all right for 18 year olds but one can do little with him after that,..." etc. They are the pseudo-non-Marxists! They derive their "individual" and sometimes apparently attractive "philosophies" from the labyrinth of their pseudo-convictions. Their anti-Marxism is real (at most) at the level of emotions and passions; theirs is the "non-thought" which is not thought out.

The pseudo-Marxists do much damage to the cause of Marxism among university students. The types described by Agnes Becsy are telling: the super-Marxist, the stubborn "student," the representative of a militant "individual Marxism," the hyper suspicious stubborn believer. But the average "pseudo-Marxist" is still a "verbal Marxist." One who has studied Marxism, in some vulgarized form. One who knows that it is being which defines consciousness and not vice versa, that there is a dialectic relationship between base and superstructure, that Marx stood Hegel on his feet, etc. Such was the Agi of Darday's film. She knew and studied Marxism at the level of the "obligatory literature." In the bathroom, applying the mascara, she announced: "I have always strived for completeness." This behavior is implicit but it is a radical denial of what is new and essential in Marxist philosophy. It denies that this philosophy "does not stick fanatically to the past and does not mythicize the future." And it denies that it studies reality in such a way "that it issues from the essence, without prejudice and yet prejudiced toward the truth" (Gyorgy Bretter).

There are university students who call themselves Marxists (and they do not just so call themselves)--but there are few of them. The debates and theoretical conflicts between them and the pseudo-non-Marxist groups well illustrate the essential differences. But it would not be correct to derive their Marxist character from these relationships, as Agnes Becsy does. They know that it takes work to become a Marxist. Their goal is a systematic and fundamental study of the philosophy of Marx, of the progressive Marxist philosophy after Marx (Gramsci, Lukacs) and of Marxist science. This is not a phrase for them but a realistic program.

Thus far nothing has been said about the great majority of university students, just as nothing was said about them--in my opinion--in Agnes Becsy's entire article. About those who belong to no intellectual circle, who do not study Marxism stubbornly and who seriously do not consider themselves to be Marxists. Especially if they would have to take a stand as such in serious or not so serious conflicts and debates. Their relationship to Marxism is basically disjunctive and detached. Marxism does not relate to them (as they see it), and they do not relate to Marxism.

Marxism is something exterior to them. It is something to be studied. A subject. Their judgment has two points of view, the extent to which it is interesting and the extent to which it is difficult. In general they find the textbooks boring and the obligatory literature, from Marx on, difficult. They have no conscious relationship either to Marxism or to any other philosophy. And they have no need of it. The world really does not look back upon them. But neither do they look upon the world. Neither intellectually nor non-intellectually. They are "without a world view."

In our universities, after admission, as an important selective mechanism, there is (necessarily) another selection--a natural selection. This can be observed toward the end of studies (at the end) and with the start of work it consolidates--not, of course, with eternal validity--into a naked fact. Thus the university students are divided into three groups--researchers, teachers and those "who remain in the profession." (For example, an economist researcher, a trade secondary school teacher and a practicing economist.) The world view, the relationship to Marxism, is crucial for both the beginning (or future) researchers and the teachers. The former will be the social scientists of the future, they will cultivate philosophy and Marxism "professionally." The teachers will teach these things directly or indirectly. Their Marxist character is really crucial.

In articles which try to characterize the relationship of the youth to Marxism, on the basis of personal (and thus partial and thus subjective) experiences, it would be a blunder to make pronouncements about causes felt to be certain or probable. I will not try to do this. But the symptoms, the manifestations of the causes, can be described. One of these is the "unread Marx." I consider extraordinarily characteristic that lack of preparation with which university students approach Marx and Marxist philosophy. They do so with a complete lack of preliminary philosophical and metascientific information. This can result only in verbal understanding, and sometimes not even that! In the second place the individual pieces of Marx's life work cannot be separated out from that grandiose philosophical self-development which was Marx's own. That is to say, Marx can hardly be presented in excerpts. One cannot peck at him! No one will become a Marxist by reading only excerpts.

I think that in the final analysis the "unread Marx": leads to the conclusion that we must deny the innocence of the "little world views" especially in regard to the university students of today. Pseudo-Marxism, pseudo-non-Marxism and the state of "being without a world view" sharply evoke the question of the innocence of a world view and this points beyond the university age groups to apply to larger communities. Of course, "simply reading" Marx (especially if accomplished by administrative means) will not solve the problems indicated above. But without this, they cannot be solved.

Finally, I completely agree with Sandor Szilagyi that admitting and exercising a rational world view tolerance is one of the chief tasks today. But this does not mean (and cannot mean) propounding the innocence of the "little world views," not recognizing their harmfulness and danger!

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JOURNAL DISCUSSES FUTURE OF WORKERS' SELF-GOVERNMENT CONFERENCE

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 28, 15 Jul 78 pp 1, 6

[Article by Zygmunt Szeliga]

[Text] For a fairly long time now, it has been possible to observe the growth of public interest in workers' self-government, a specific form of social demand for new impulses and decisions stimulating self-government to activity, pushing it to new tracks. Such an atmosphere was generated, among others, by the press--and our periodical was among them--devoting more attention to self-government, initiating discussions, formulating suggestions and demands.

I believe that there were two factors which had an effect in stimulating interest in self-government. The first, a more long-range and structural factor: a desire and need for a further development of democracy, for an improvement in our political and social machinery and relationships. The second, a more immediate factor: an eagerness for a speedier and more effective surmounting of difficulties and troubles which demands a more active, more efficient operation equally at the top, in the centers of authority and administration, as at the bottom--in the enterprises and in individual economic units.

Both of these themes, the long-range and the immediate were equally the pivot of the paper of the Political Bureau delivered by Edward Gierek as of the discussion in the National Conference of Representatives of Workers' Self-Government which deliberated in Warsaw on Monday, 3 July, and which will undoubtedly go into history with the addition of the "first." For as Edward Gierek stated: "The Politbureau resolved to meet yearly with the representation of the workers' self-government. We desire that this and the following national conferences of the representatives of the workers' self-government testify to the great importance which we attach to the participation of the work force in the administration."

In his final address, on the other hand, evaluating the results of the conference, the first secretary of the Central Committee proposed a second meeting of the representatives of the workers' self-government

somewhere at the end of the present year and the beginning of the next, "in order to carry out an evaluation of the realization of this year's agenda, square up with its implementation, discuss the setting up of a plan, draft a program of activity for 1979."

We have therefore a new institution of public life which in the future can undoubtedly play a notable role in the country--to the extent that the hopes and expectations for the activization of workers' self-government will be fulfilled. For the national conferences will always reflect the state of self-government.

It seems that there are a good many bases for optimism. Such a conclusion is warranted not only by the conference but also by the events preceding it. For to my mind, the discussion during the conference left behind a certain deficiency. The paper presented by the Politbureau outlined many themes, long-range as well as immediate, whereas in the discussion the immediate subjects clearly dominated, while at the same time, apart from comments on problems, there was no lack of the national, traditional "threshing"--reports of successes. Of course such an evaluation may be unjust. I formulate it on the basis of what I heard from the rostrum. Meanwhile, of those presenting themselves for discussion, in the formal announcements filed in writing to the minutes, only 10 percent succeeded in rising to speak. (I am as yet unacquainted with the announcements--the proportion may be exactly the opposite). Likewise in the lobbies of the conference the atmosphere seemed to be more problem-filled and "war-like" than on the rostrum.

It can also be said that the conference reflected the kind of self-government that we have had up to now, whereas the following conferences will be the emanation of a new self-government endowed with far greater powers and abilities, much more widespread, and aware of having a more authentic and broader joint decision-making power and joint responsibility.

The prospects and the conditions of precisely such an evolution of self-government are created by the recently undertaken decisions of the Politbureau, as well as by enactments of the state authorities, already realized or in the state of preparation, modifying the hitherto existing directives concerning workers' self-government. Here is a short description of the main changes.

The Politbureau proposed that workers' self-government should come into being in all the government plants and enterprises. This is quite an essential change, for at present the extent of self-government is not too wide. It does not even operate in all of the industrial, building and transport enterprises and only in a few enterprises from other segments of the economy. Now it should emerge everywhere. Admittedly mention is only made of government plants and enterprises, but in practice such a dissemination and activization of workers' self-government will also enliven self-government in the cooperatives, which at present shows little activity.

One can speak, however, about the wide extent of self-government not only in the horizontal structure of enterprises and plants but also in the vertical. After all, there did exist a certain limited practice. For several years production conferences held in the departments and sections of the enterprises were accepted as the lowest and at the same time as the most widespread units of self-government. The second (and last) rung consisted of the conferences of workers' self-government in the enterprises. The new principles create a hierarchical structure of self-government. The lowest units of self-government will be, as till now, the production conferences. The KSR [Workers' Self-Government Conference] is to function in plants and enterprises. In economic organizations, industrial combines and the like which group enterprises, conferences of the representatives of self-government from individual enterprises will be called into being. Finally, on a national scale, there will be assembled an annual conference of the representatives of workers' self-government.

Of extraordinary importance is the provision concerning the immediate eligibility of a part of the members of self-government. In the hitherto existing form, workers' self-government, as everyone knows, has been the common assembly of the plant committee of the PZPR [Polish United Workers' Party], plant councils, trade unions and workers' councils, as well as the representatives of the youth organizations, scientific and technical associations functioning in the enterprise and circles of the Polish Economic Society. Well, for several years the workers' councils in some plants have been vanishing units of self-rule. In many enterprises they have in general ceased to elect them, in others no importance is attached to them. The reasons for this state of affairs are complex and their analysis goes beyond the limits of this article. Personally I have a great sentiment for workers' councils. Let me recall that the whole concept of workers' self-government and workers' democracy began precisely in the workers' councils, and they played a great positive role in the formation of workers' self-government. Of great importance was the fact that the workers' council was (and is) the only unit of self-rule elected entirely by all the workers, while the plant committee is elected only by members of the party, the plant council--by the trade union members, etc.

Now it has been determined to create a completely new form of a wide representation of workers in the workers' self-government conference. It will be thus: the department production conferences will select their delegates to the workers' self-government conference, while at the same time the delegates are to constitute at least a third of the whole KSR. The proposition to have the delegates to the KSR elected for only 1 year stirs up certain doubts. It seems that this is a period just long enough for a detailed acquaintanceship with the mechanics of self-government, as well as with the essential problems--and preparation for full-fledged work. In other words, a term of office of 1 year's duration seems clearly too short. In its favor is the fact that owing to it a considerably greater number of representatives of the work force will be able to come and go through self-government. Weighing however the arguments pro and con I come to the

conclusion that a 2-year term of office would be more proper and maybe even a 3-year term, because it would create a sense of stability and provide for a better utilization of the experiences gained in the work of self-government. Of course each year it would be necessary to "renew" a half or a third of the delegates, which would guarantee that at all times those serving in the KSR are indeed the best and have the full confidence of the work force.

Apropos stability: I think that legal guarantees of "immunity" of the delegates will be necessary not only during the term of office but also for 1 or 2 years after its completion. Unfortunately, when all is said and done, it is not possible to preclude the tendency of the administration "to settle accounts" with those members of self-government who analyze too penetratingly the work of management and submit it to critical examination.

The perspective of workers' councils is not too clear. This subject is not taken up with the belief that in the course of putting into practice the new forms of activity of workers' self-government, the views and opinions of the workers relative to the usefulness of workers' councils will become more crystallized.

Two new organs of workers' self-government are coming into existence. One is that of the problem commissions which are to carry out analyses and evaluations of the execution of planned works, recommend propositions for the utilization of the reserves, as well as directions and forms for social-vocational development of the activity of the work force. The task of the commission will also be the systematic supervision of the execution of the resolutions of the KSR, as well as of the accepted programs of action. Consequently it will be, as it were, a working organ of workers' self-government.

The second organ, having considerable powers, is the presidium of the workers' self-government. It is to be a body always in action and not during the KSR session only, as was the case up to now. This is a logical consequence of the growth of the work, powers, and the responsibility of self-government. In practice, it must after all act systematically almost daily, and since a meeting of the entire committee is unfeasible, the creation of a presidium seems quite logical.

In the future regulations adapting the principles of the functioning of self-governments to these general norms, it seems desirable if possible to have a precise determination of the powers of the presidium and in general of all the units of self-government. For one cannot rule out the tendency to take over the functions of workers' self-government conferences by the presidium or problem commissions. Such tendencies would undoubtedly represent a distortion of the idea of workers' self-government and democracy.

The most important matter however, lies not in the changes in the organization of workers' self-government but in a considerable extension of its essential authority.

And so, first and foremost, there is a growth of the powers of workers' self-government in the area of planning. The plan voted on by the KSR must be the obligatory basis for action in an enterprise. Neither the management nor any of the levels of economic administration are empowered to carry out any essential changes in the plan without the previous consent of the self-government. With respect to the nonessential changes, management is obliged to inform the presidium of the self-government.

Once again, it seems imperative to have in the detailed regulations a precise definition of essential and nonessential changes. After all, these very concepts leave too much freedom to the administration which under the cover of nonessential changes could depart quite radically from the concepts accepted by a self-government.

Besides planning, the second area in which there is an increase in the powers of self-government is in the field of inspection. The guiding principles of the Politbureau state that in the functions of inspection a special emphasis must be placed on what determines the effectiveness of economic management. The system of social inspection carried out by self-governments ought to include work discipline and discipline of the plan, regularity and quality of the production, cooperation and material administration and observance of technology, as well as the principles of remuneration according to the quantity and quality of the work.

In speaking about the inspection functions of a self-government, it must be underscored that they ought to be factors in eliminating local attitudes and tendencies, in promoting the efficiency of economic management.

The strength of a self-government is determined above all by its ties with the work force, with the working class. Equally, in practice till now, those self-governments have made out well which gained for themselves the wide support of the work force and which are their authentic representation.

Much attention was given to this matter both in the paper delivered by Edward Gieriek and in the earlier guiding principles of the Politbureau. It was stated that the organs of self-government ought to take into account the opinion of the work force in all matters, consistently putting into practice the system of consultation for decisions of projects and for tasks undertaken. The comments, suggestions, and proposals of the work forces ought to be examined with the greatest discriminating accuracy. The Politbureau stated that in all important matters pertaining to the development and activity of enterprises, self-governments ought to refer to social opinion, while the basic right of the work force of an enterprise is to express an opinion on the affairs of an enterprise.

As I stated, all these decisions create new frameworks, are a specific offer for activization of workers' self-government and for pushing it on to new tracks. The consistent fulfillment of the new principles will be of significant importance in the matter of bringing nearer the ideals of a workers' democracy. Edward Gierek said at the conference: "The constant deepening of this democracy and the perfection of its contents are one of the principal conditions for the realization of the structural aims of socialism." Characterizing the essence of socialist democracy the first secretary of the Central Committee underscored its two sides: "The only kind of democracy which can be effective is the one which unites joint decision making with joint responsibility. We must study constantly such a democracy on all levels in all of its aspects and manifestations."

At present the basic question is: whether and to what extent will self-governments undertake the offer, take advantage of the powers, decide to take upon themselves the burden--and honor--of joint decision making, but also of joint responsibility" And also: how will relations shape up between a self-government endowed with new powers and an administration sooner adhering to old habits?

I think that we have reasons for optimism.

Evaluating the achievement of workers' self-government up to the present, Edward Gierek stated: "It has established traditions and experience in our country. It represents the principle form of participation of the working class in the administration of places of work. The significance of workers' self-government arises from the social position of the working class in our country, from its leading role in the building of socialism.... From that also we see in workers' self-government the widest form of participation of the working class in the determination and realization of social-economic tasks."

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